1: Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

The Botis are very social people in their habits, and every event is made the pretext for a feast, which usually ends in great uproariousness, and frequently in general drunkenness. Huge bowls of *Chang* form the chief attraction of an entertainment, and the song* and the laugh abound, until the liquor is finished. On these occasions they prefer merry or drinking songs. The singer is often accompanied by a fiddler, and sometimes by a drum. Exhibitions of female dancers frequently form a principal part of an entertainment; but the performers are more remarkable for their costume than for their graceful movements. The principal occasions on which these entertainments are held, are births, marriages, and deaths. The ceremonies are the following:

The birth-feast, *Tsas-Ton*, is held one week after the mother's confinement, when all the relatives assemble at her house to celebrate the child's birth. All the guests make presents to the mother, according to their means, of pieces of cloth and food, and occasionally of money. The party then dines, and the entertainment ends with a bowl of chang. The mother remains at home for one month.

The naming-feast, *Ming-Ton*, which answers to our christening, is held just one year after the birth. The child is then taken before some great lama, to whom an offering is made of a rupee or a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parties. The lama pronounces a name, and the relatives retire to the usual entertainment of dinner and chang.

The marriage-feast, *Bag-Ton*, is a much more formal business. When betrothed, the bridegroom proceeds to

* A drinking-song is appropriately called *Chang-gLu*, a "liquor-song."

796 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday
527 or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is
[643] kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's
174 day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now
[71] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses,
592 offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

342 789 above the housedoor. It is supposed to fix the evil earth spirits firmly within the earth, lest they approach the house in a threatening manner. They are supposed to vent their rage upon the pictures by believing them to be the actual inhabitants of the house. Once the dosmo is attached, lama steps in front of the housedoor with his face turned towards the southwest, and calls upon the queen of the earth spirits, the old mother Khon, draws her attention to all the good things coveted by her, the ram's skull with sun and moon, the Khon sign, and all the valuable stones, and so forth, in the ram's skull. All this, he says, is being offered to her so that she may enjoy it. And now she might as well close the door of the earth for the owners of the house, who had brought her all these precious things as an offering, so that the army of earth spirits which was subordinated to her might not inflict any harm upon the inhabitants of the house. In future, too, when the latter should build a new house or improve the old, when they might plan a marriage or any other important matter, the earth mother is to remember this offering and is not to hinder the doings of the people, but to further them. In conclusion the lama claps his hands and exclaims: "Om kharal dok! Om kharal dok! Benneu swaha!" (mystical Sanskrit formulas).

The housedoor of the new house also had to be well protected against the evil spirits. A picture of the house and hearth god with the pig's head (p'a-lha, t'ab-lha) was also fastened above its door. When all these ceremonies were completed, and the lamas had fortified themselves by an ample meal and ample drink, /128/ and after each one of them had received another gift of money, they departed with the greeting: "Tra-shis-shik! K'angpa nor pelchik! Hail! May your house and your property prosper!"

A Year in the House of the Dragshos and What Namgyal Experienced during it

• 527 In the house of the Dragshos the old popular customs were strictly observed. The inhabitants were firmly rooted in the soil of the popular national traditions and took part in the life of the people as it has been taking its course for thousands of years, year after year in the same way, connected in the closest possible manner with nature. Just as life in nature takes its course in the eternal consonance of the yearly cycle which is determined by the course of the sun, so, too, the life of the Tibetan passes in even rhythm. In this the turning points

in the course of the light-giving and life-giving sun are likewise the turning points in his life and activities. 527

The sun in winter runs its course in a low arc, scarcely rises above the tall mountain ridges and leaves innumerable valleys and many homesteads in darkness and cold. When, at the time of the winter solstice, it again rises victoriously and awakens to new life the nature which has been lying in a deathlike sleep, then joy and hope, which seek expression in a whole series of festivals, are aroused in the heart of the Tibetan.

In this respect it is strange first of all that the Tibetans have two New Year's celebrations. There is the people's New Year (lo-gsar) of ancient tradition, which is celebrated on a series of days beginning at the end of the tenth month; and there is the "King's New Year" (rgyal-poi lo-gsar), also called Dosmoche (gdos-mo-ce), which is observed on the first day of the first month. The first-named is in any case the older, more original festival which originated from the ancient winter solstice festival. It usually falls in the time between the last days of November and the 25th of December. Since the grain and provision chambers of the Tibetans are still relatively full around this time, there are no material prerequisites lacking for extensive celebrations. When--about two months later--the "King's New Year" is celebrated, and the supplies have been strongly depleted by family and tribal festivals, there may very easily be a lack of the necessary /Following page 128 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of a "Wedding feast in Stog (Ladakh). Behind the men have been constructed three wedding cakes (bran-rgyas) in the form of Buddhistic stupas, out of cake tiles." The chang jug is circulating." (subtitle). The second illustration is of "A wedding in Ladakh" (subtitle)./ /129/ "stuff" for celebrating; and, after all, the Tibetan likes to "splurge" at his festivals.

The lamas, it is true, look upon the King's New Year (Dosmoche) as the true New Year. It was probably introduced by the kings who had turned Buddhist at the urging of the Buddhist priesthood. (132)

132. A saga tells--under the presupposition that the "King's New Year," the later New Year celebrated in February, is the original one--that the king of Ladakh by the name of Jamgyang (1560-1590) wanted to wage war against the Muslim princes of neighboring Puri. But since winter was close at hand the lamas declared that it would not be advisable to start the war

527 before the New Year had been properly celebrated. Thereupon the king is supposed to have advanced the date of the New Year's festival by two months without a moment's hesitation. In this way the people of Ladak are said to have come to two New Year's celebrations, for the people refused to let the second festival go. Compare Francke, History of Western Tibet, p. 91.

With this was also connected the introduction of the calendar which which was borrowed from the Chinese. But the people will not let themthemselves be deprived of their first New Year (lo-gsar literally means "New Year"), and therefore they celebrate two festivals. The lamas have accommodated themselves to this national custom as they have to all others, and they secure their share and their rights in both festivals.

The first New Year (lo-gsar) begins on the 28th day of the tenth Tibetan month, the memorial day of the "ascent to Heaven" of the great reformer of Tibetan Buddhism, Tsongkapa, the founder of the dominant reform sect of the Gelugpa (the "virtuous"). On this day he is supposed to have attained divine dignity, and he is supposed to have ascended up to the Tushita heaven, the abode of the Bodhisattvas. The Tibetans for this reason also call this holiday Galdan Namchod (dga-ldan, meaning "realm of joy," Tushita; gnam, meaning "heaven"; mĉod, meaning "offering"); Tsongkapa also named the large monastery near Lhasa which was founded by him, Galdan. There the festival of the lanterns is celebrated around this time, and in all the numerous monasteries of the "Virtuous" memorial celebrations are organized.

527 782 On this occasion the people present offering gifts to the monasteries. Namgyal went to Tingmogang on the day before the beginning of the festival in order to donate a few brass offering lamps, as well as butter used for fuel in these lamps, barley, rice, and beer in brass bowls, at the monastery located there. The gifts were placed before the images of the gods. Outside on the door posts of his house and on the inside along the beams of the ceiling he fastened twigs of juniper just as everybody else did. By this, the evil spirits of the old year were to be exorcized so that they would leave the house peacefully to those of the new year. In his own household temple Namgyal placed bowls with fresh offerings before the statues and images of the Buddhas and gods, in order to maintain their favor; he decorated the house altar with dried flowers, placed burning offering lamps on it, and had Kha-btags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods.

and laid k'atags (greeting ribbons) before the images of the gods. 000

/130/ On the first evening of the festival there had to be the baba dumpling made of barley flour and mixed with butter and sugar, as a part of the meal. Mother Tsering Putrid prepared it with her own hands, for, she said, nobody knew how to make them the way she had learned to make them from her mother. At supper the steaming, fragrant giant dumpling was then placed between the celebrants who were crouched on carpets on the floor. The master of the house made a hole in the middle, at the top, by means of a spoon, and into this Tsering Putrid poured melted butter. (133). Then the master of the 527● 262

133. A similar custom is to be found in Sweden where a flour dish appears on the table at the New Year's eve dinner. This dish has a hollow at the top into which melted butter is poured. Compare note 37!

house was the first to break off with his little brass spoon a piece of the dumpling, --followed by all the others. Each dipped it into the butter, and soon the loud smacking of lips betrayed how well the baba tasted to all.

Everywhere from the king's castle to the hut of the small-holder they celebrated, depending on their wealth they ate well and plentifully, and--the men--drank even more, they gathered for singing and dancing, for polo playing and horse racing. Everybody gave himself over to unbridled gaiety. 527

In one of the first years after his marriage Namgyal received a letter. The letter was from the Gyalpo, the grandson of the king of Ladakh, who was dethroned in 1840 and who lived in a castle on the other side of the Indus River across from Leh, and who there lived on a small state pension and large reminiscences from the time of his once mighty forebears. The letter contained an invitation to him from the "Ruler without land" to celebrate the festival in Leh with him and the galons, lonpos, and other great men. The king in his epistle addressed the young Dragshos with "No" (younger brother); he, as the offspring of the noble race of the Dragshos, whose valiant sons had once performed great services for the land of Ladakh and one of whose offspring had once been offered the royal hat, should not be absent from the festivities in Leh. The custom had existed, since the days of his forefathers, that the king celebrated the New Year's festival in Leh surrounded by his grandees and that he prayed together with them for 527 574

527 the well-being of the country and of the people.

574 Namgyal at first had very little desire to comply with the invitation. In the past few years his father had been in the habit of declining the same invitation under the pretense that as village magistrate he was unable to leave his post for such a long time. The real reason was /131/ that he knew from experience that this participation was an expensive matter. The great festivals in the royal palace in Leh cost a lot of money, and the king was totally unable to meet these expenses from his own modest income. Therefore, his "grandees" who had the honor to take part in the festivities, had to make considerable contributions. It even happened that after the celebration the royal pockets were so completely depleted that his "majesty" would approach one or the other of his noblemen for a loan, for the repayment of which the person concerned would then have to wait an extremely long time. Many of them had had bad experiences in these matters. One of them, for instance, had had to be contented with a very emaciated little ox as repayment for a considerable sum of money that he had lent. But finally Namgyal allowed himself to be persuaded by some friends and by his ambitious grandmother to go to the festival at Leh after all. It was, he was told, an honor for the house of Dragshos and for entire Lower Ladakh if he was gathered together with all the grandees around the king. After all, the lonpo from Domkhar, who was related to him, was also taking part. Finally, Namgyal himself wanted to experience for once the festivities days in May, of which he had heard so much. Perhaps, so he thought, he might even learn something from them.

574 Thus, shortly before the beginning of the celebrations Namgyal rode to Leh in two days. In Leh he moved in with a distant relative. On the evening of the first holiday, the 28th of the tenth month, he saw, for the first time, the illumination of the town: the houses at the foot of the mountain on which the castle was situated, and along the southern slope of the same, the castle, and the monasteries gleamed 708 in the shine of thousands of little lamps lit to celebrate this lamaistic "ascension festival," something which made a great impression upon Namgyal.

527 The following morning at the bazaar he met about twenty Tibetan gentlemen of nobility, galons, lonpos, and higher officials. on horseback, who were just about to fetch the king for the celebration of the festival. Namgyal, likewise on horseback, joined them. A

ride of a good hour at a steady amble brought the company to the village [527] Stog on the other side of the Indus where the king was already awaiting the gentlemen from Leh with a small following of relatives and farmers. All were on fine horses, the horses were beautifully bridled and equipped with fine, /132/ colorful Yarkand saddlecloths. The gentlemen from [576] Leh greeted his dethroned majesty with the honors accorded to a king of the old time: "Hail! We, your humble servants, greet you most respectfully, you, the lofty king of Ladakh! Hail, good fortune, might, and long life be accorded to you!" On this occasion a special word from the courtly language was used for each of the words applied to the king. Furthermore, the gentlemen had all dismounted from their horses, they bowed down deeply before his majesty and embraced the royal legs. The king, a man of middle age, was, it is true, anything but a royal sight: his posture was slouching; sagging and expressionless were his facial traits; his one crossed eye gave his expression of a somewhate stupid appearance--the degenerate offspring of a once mighty and energetic tribe of rulers. He received the salutations of his grandees with an embarrassed gesture. And yet he was "the king" for the people of Ladakh during the brief days of celebration, and as such, royal respects had to be paid to him. This was required by the custom which the ruling Kashmir government suffered magnanimously to continue, since it was convinced of the harmlessness of the weakly Gyalpo.

Escorted by about thirty horsemen, the king now rode to Leh, crossing the Indus by a bridge. He rode across the bazaar and was greeted everywhere by the people of Ladakh in a most respectful manner. The people had come together in great numbers from all the neighboring villages, in part from very great distances. Today they were for once allowed to dream of ancient, long-past royal splendor. The procession rode up the steep mountain on which the castle stood, accompanied by crowds of the populace. In front of the lions' gate [532] the riders dismounted. At their approach the lion who was roughly carved out of wood, and who peered out over the gate from a niche, had begun to growl violently, and at the same time there resounded the furious barking of dogs. A mighty Tibetan mastiff which was lying on the inside of the gate on a chain was connected by means of a string with the wooden lion up above. When the barking dog jumped around and tugged at the string, the wooden lion above the gate, through whose belly went an axle, began to skip about, and the populace gaped at this wonder of technology.

600 at this wonder of technology.

527 [344] The castle, which the Gyalpo now entered with his following, was an enormous, massive, nine-storied structure which had once been erected by the /133/ mighty king Sengge Namgyal (meaning "lion--great conqueror") in the 17th century. Now the huge building usually stood empty, and rats, owls, and bats had made themselves at home in it. Only at certain festive occasions the lions' gate opens and allows noble guests to enter into the barren, empty rooms. The old walls at these times again echo with gay music and festive shouting for a few brief days. For five days on end the grandees of Ladakh celebrate the New Year here with their king. They eat, they drink, the old songs resound in which the heroic deeds of the mythical Kesar, the "son of the gods," and of the old Ladakh kings are praised, and in which the gods and the lamas are glorified. The musical band, which still bears [563] the proud name of the "castle band" (k'ar-mon), and which is composed entirely of Mons (see note 12!), plays old tunes on clarinets and drums in a wild and frenzied rhythm. The dancers, men and women [526] separately, rock themselves in dance; polo games and horse races are organized, for which the gentlemen move to the polo field at the bazaar. Namgyal very eagerly participated in the polo games, he was one of the best players. The people, usually accustomed to deprivations of all kinds, enjoy these rare pleasures in full draughts and give themselves over to uninhibited merriment.

527 782 On the third holiday, the 30th of the tenth month, Namgang, the last day of the moon month, on which no moon brightens the evening sky, Namgyal, at the king's command, rode with him and the other grandees in the early morning to Sheh, a village on the Indus, about seven kilometers removed from Leh. In Sheh there was also a royal castle. From there they went on to the nearby monastery Trigtse, which is situated on a steep cliff. There the king, with his retinue, prayed before the large statue of Gautama Buddha; and his people, in his presence, filled with new butter the cone-shaped "Eternal Lamp" (lo-kon), which was about one meter high and stood in front of the image. This was an offering and a "prayer" to the Buddha for the duration of the coming year, so that the mercy of the mighty one might shine in the coming year in the dark Beyond for the 527 king and his people. On the way back the men were always careful, 778 as they had been on their way out, to ride in such a manner that they always had the long 'manes' (prayer walls) which were constructed along the way, and the longest of which is over 600 meters, /134/ on

their right-hand side. This they did so that all the prayer tablets which were lying on the wall might send the Om-ma-ni-pad-me-hum a thousandfold up to the great Merciful One. The chorten that flanked the 'manes' were circled about, amid prayers, in order to implore also, by this "praying," the blessing of the Buddhas and the gods upon the land and the people. For five days, Namgyal in this way celebrated with the grandees; during the day, at the bazaar and on the polo field, in the midst of the people, and in the evening in the castle in the narrow circle of his social peers; and thus he enjoyed the gay goings-on; in so doing he also believed to be contributing his share in making the gods favorably inclined, for, after all, it was in their honor that they were celebrating.

About two months later when the days had already become considerably longer and the sun already shone quite warm into the valleys of the Ladakh during the hours of the midday, the people there prepared for the King's New Year, and again the king's invitation brought Namgyal to Leh. At this festival the king again wished to see as many of his grandees as possible around him, so that at least on these rare days he might be surrounded by a faint shimmer of royal splendor. All the more, since this also made a greater impression upon the divine helpers-in-need, who were again approached with prayers.

Grandmother Tsering Putrid this time talked with quite a special urgency to her grandson, in order to persuade him to take part in the festival at Leh. "Namgyal," she said, "when you tear down the great magical pole (dosmo) in Leh, you must see to it that you get hold of a large piece of a string star, wood with yellow, red, and blue strings. That will bring us luck in the new year and will keep away the evil spirits!" Namgyal had smiled at this and had said, "Oh, oh!" which sounded like half an assent. At this the old woman had become very angry and had added: "Don't you laugh, Namgyal! You have no idea how much magical power is contained in such a piece of the dosmo. When your mother bore you, I put such a bundle of sticks and colored strings from the last dosmo in her bed. Then everything went all right with the birth and afterwards. A year before, your mother had had a miscarriage and had to suffer a great deal. At that time, you see, I had no such amulet at hand. So it couldn't go right! And many years ago I once lost my coral necklace with the silver amulet up there by the slope of the mountain /135/ near the goats' huts. I looked for it for hours and could not find it. The following day I put the dosmo amulet inside the bosom of my dress, and lo and behold, I just went up

527 777 and down the mountain slope twice, and there I saw something gleaming between two large boulders--my necklace! This was the effect of the dosmo amulet." "Yindro" (meaning, "it may have been like that"), said Namgyal drily and set about his preparations for the journey, for he wanted to have taken part at least once in the great dosmo festival, and he also wanted to please the king. On the 25th of the twelfth month he set out for Leh.

527 The celebration of the King's New Year or Dosmoche begins as early as the 28th day of the twelfth month and in its entirety it again lasts for five days. The festival usually takes place in the first 805 half of February but the exact time according to the Gregorian calendar constantly shifts, as do all Tibetan dates, because the two calendars can never be made to agree completely.

527 789 On the morning of the first holiday the lamas and the onpos first of all erect the large dosmo (magical pole) in an open place in the desert outside the town of Leh. The dosmo has already been described earlier. The one used here is distinguished by its height and by the large number of string stars, string crosses and pentagrams (134) that are attached to it. The pole is about eight meters high

134. The pentagram or the "witch's foot" was a frequently used symbol in medieval magic to ward off evil spirits. In Faust, Part I, Mephisto explains that he is rooted to the spot by a pentagram/the German "Drudenfuss," literally a "witch's foot," is simply a synonym for a pentagram. --translator/on the threshold He needs a rat's tooth in order to break the spell.

and everything about it is proportionately larger than other dosmos used on other occasions, such as the dedication of a house, the exorcism of demons of disease, and the like. The lamas and some pious laymen have prepared themselves for the festival by fasting and the reading of sacred books, praying, and pilgrimages. After the large dosmo has been erected the lamas present a food and drink offering (ser-skyems) to the Buddhas and the gods.

On the 29th day of the twelfth month the lamas bring the storma offering (gtor-ma). (135). In so doing the monks and onpos

782 776 135. In the storma (gtor-ma, casting or scattered offering) the "Three Pleasing Aromas" (dri sna gsum) are often mixed in with the dough of the sacrificial cake as a special offering for the Drisa spirits (Sanskrit, Gandharva), the "aroma eaters,"

angel-like creatures which, floating around in the wide spaces of heaven, refresh themselves with pleasing fragrances of all kinds. But they also appear in the shapes of flies and of other insects and as such they buzz around heaps of refuse and piles of dung in order to "eat odors" there too! For this reason it frequently happens that feces and other impure matters derived from human beings are put inside this storma offering, in place of pleasing scents. The storma is supposed to have taken the place of human sacrifices, which used to be made to the gods and to the demons, in pre-Buddhistic times.

separately read prayers and exorcizing texts in order to drive out the evil spirits of the old year with them. The dances which the magicians perform with hideous demons' masks before their faces and magical daggers and skull drums in their hands, have as their purpose the banishment of those hostile spirits so that they will leave the people unharmed in the new year. This is the "ceremony of the dying /136/ year" (lo-si-sku-rim). After the reading of the particular formulas involved, one of the lamas takes up the pyramid-shaped offering cake which has been placed in readiness, and carries it out to a crossing in the road in the desert. There he flings this cast offering among the rocks, so that it breaks into countless little pieces, and invokes the spirits telling them to refresh themselves with the "precious meal," and in exchange for this to let the people live in peace during the new year, and not to inflict upon them any kind of harm or malicious attacks. Some Tibetans who can afford the expense, have the lama fling their own cast offering (for which they pay him), in order to be perfectly secure against the evil activities of the demons.

Towards evening the great magical pole with all its crosses made of string and its pentagrams, is surrendered to the people, who have been standing around with tense expectation, in order that they may tear the pole down. Namgyal stood with a few friends in the very midst of the excited crowd.

Now they are all prepared to tear the pole down. Another last dance is performed by the onpos around the mast, a few exorcizing formulas are spoken--the spirits of the old year are called upon to enter into the string stars and the pentagrams, wild, shrill music starts playing, demonic sounds as if from hell, wild shouting, whistling, yelling from the crowd; then, at a sign given by the onpos, the people rush upon the desmo. The pole crashes to the ground and now there commences a

527 violent struggling and fighting in which everyone tries to seize as large
789 a piece of wood with colored wool threads as possible. Once someone has got hold of a piece he takes it home and keeps it carefully throughout the entire year as a valuable talisman serving as a protection against the evil spirits.

Namgyal did not dream of taking part in the brawl. Api Tsering Putrid just would have to see that she got along without such a amulet this year; he himself did not believe at all any more in the magical power of these things.

527 On the 30th day of the twelfth month, the end of the month and of the year, Namgyal again rode along in the retinue of the king, who had once more assumed royal dignity of the duration of the festival. This time they rode to Sheh and Trigtse. Again Namgyal was witness as the king performed prayers on behalf of the people in the monastery of Trigtse before the images of the divinities. And again the grandees as well as the little people celebrated /137/ the second New Year's festival extensively with feasting and drinking, with song, dance, and the playing of polo.

788 A few of Namgyal's friends urged him to stay a few days more in Leh since he was already there, so that he would be able to take part in the procession of entreaty (mgo-p'yag, really "head procession"). This procession was to take place on the eighth, the ninth, and the tenth day of the first month of the new year. Namgyal let himself be persuaded. From this exercise he expected more profit than from the New Year's celebrations with their wild revelries and their unbridled amusements. After all, this was an occasion of serious praying and of real effort to obtain the grace of the powers of the Beyond, so he was told.

After previous fasting, fervent praying, and all kinds of worthy activity of the part of the individual participants, about thirty men from Leh and the surrounding villages came together for the yearly procession of entreaty. On this occasion the suppliants must circle once around the mountain on which the monastery is situated, near Leh, within the space of three days. They have to walk in a closed chain, one behind the other at a distance from each other of a man's height. The steep mountain bears on its peak the little monastery of Namgyal Tsemo which overlooks the countryside as defiantly as a fortress from its high eminence. The worship is primarily directed towards the Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara with the eleven faces (spyan-ras gzigs bcu-gcig źal) and the thousand arms, whose gigantic image stands in this

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery fell into disuse.

(141) roar, and rain falls." 789

141. According to the conception of the Tibetans (and similarly also of the Chinese), a rain storm arises from the fact that two dragons, a male and a female one, fight with each other so that the sparks (lightning) fly. Their angry roar is the thunder. On each of the dragons there rides a demon (lha-adre), and they, too, take part in the battle. Both riders have a sack from which they scatter hail and sleet down on the earth. According to the Chinese conception the thunder dragons and the sky Nagas cause the rain storm by rolling the thunder wheel at each other in battle and by spitting lightning. [821]

The year in which all this took place was a good one for the Ladakh farmers. There was no dearth of water; in the early summer the rains started and continued for an unusually long period of time; the summer brought warm sunshine so that wheat, barley, and buck-wheat in /149/ the fields turned out very well. The gods seemed graciously inclined and the lamas impressed upon the farmers how useful and necessary it was to invoke the gods in good time and to bring offerings to them. 900

So they all celebrated a merry "festival of the ears of grain," the Schrulblha (srub-lha). That took place in the beginning of July when the first ears appeared on the barley and wheat stalks. On the eve of this festival, Namgyal, like all his neighbors, brought in a bundle of green ears from the field, which he attached to the door posts, the beams, and the wooden columns of the house: an offering for the earth deities (sa-bdag) and for the household and local divinities. On the afternoon of the festival the villagers all gathered in the open place of the village where they ate, drank, and danced. They sang songs about the origin of the world and about the gods who brought the first grain kernels down to earth. 527

The beautiful weather lasted into the late autumn, and the people of Ladakh were able to bring in their harvest successfully and without being disturbed. The grain yield had been satisfactory and the people of Lower Ladakh, among them also the inhabitants of Kalatse, had also had a good harvest of apricots. Everybody was joyful and in good spirits, for the people had scarcely been afflicted with serious sickness this year. The farmers who owned horses had, moreover, been able to earn many a rupee by

527 transport services rendered for the Indian merchants and officials. Therefore the inhabitants of Kalatse decided to celebrate a large harvest festival that year. The hermit Tsetan, whose advice they liked to hear, had said: "By the grace of the "Three Jewels," you have had a good year, so you must also be thankful to them!" They followed his advice in their manner and decided to do something which they had not done for a long time, namely to offer a banquet to the gods and demons. And this could of course not be carried out without the cooperation of the lamas. Namgyal did not want to lag behind either in this great enterprise, in which all the greater farmers took part as paying contributors. After all, it might be of use.

On the day designated, therefore, eleven lamas from the Tingmogang monastery paraded with books, magical bell, dorje, with drums, kettle-drums, and the long trumpets, announcing that the banquet was to be prepared for the gods in the temple of that monastery. 557 776 A /150/ long series of gods of all classes was invited to this feast, in particular by the priests: The "Bodhisattva of contemplation" (Vajrasattva); the god of death, Yama, the terrible judge of sinners in hell; furthermore the god of wealth, Kubera who holds the Ichneumon in his hand, which spits out jewels at his command; he was one of the rain-giving gods among the ancient Indians already, and was very popular; further there were invited the goddess who roamed around heaven (mk'a-agro-ma), the twelve dreadful Furies (stan-ma) whom one could not overlook unless one wanted to bring their wrath down upon one. In addition there were the mighty and moody local divinities, the nagas of the water, the earth, and of the sky. Tsongkapa, who had been turned into a god, could not be forgotten either; finally, and above all, the great Buddha himself had to be invited, for he, like the previously mentioned, also had power over the rain-giving deities. And lastly the heroes of Tibet's prehistory who had been advanced to the status of demigods, as well as a series of tutelary gods (Yidam) and rural deities, were likewise invited to the meal; altogether a colorful company. How may the great Gautama have felt when he was dragged out of his nirvana blessedness and placed in the midst of this company!

527 782 In the monastery everything had by now been prepared by the lamas for the meal of the gods. The offering gifts were placed on a stair-like scaffold in front of the gods' images: On the lowest of seven steps were placed 84 brass offering lamps; on the step above it stood little pyramids of butter in the same number; then on the remaining

steps there were offering cakes, rice, wine (or water) in little bowls, and finally--up on top of the plate of the altar--there were large, brightly painted sacrificial cakes decorated with arabesques, and furthermore bowls made of human skulls filled with beer, water, and tea. In some of the bowls filled with rice were stuck flowers and stalks of incense. 527 782

Then the invited invisible guests were invoked. One lama called out: "Come, come! Om! Oh thunderbolt (142)! Take and

142. The thunderbolt (Sanskrit, Vajra, Tibetan rdo-rje), the magical weapon of the gods and of the magician lamas in their battle against the hostile demons. The word "Vajra" alone, in the mouth of the magician, has a spellbinding effect upon the gods and demons that have been invoked. Here it is an exclamation that is directed at those sinister powers. A bronze dorje belongs to the equipment of each lama, so that he can protect himself and other against evil spirits with it. The thunderbolt is also a symbol for the teachings of Buddha. [589]

accept this offering! Behold: Wonderful river water to drink, cooling water to wash your feet, flowers to decorate your hair, the scent of costly incense, lamps to lighten the darkness, water with a pleasing odor to rub your bodies with, hallowed /151/ food, the music of the cymbals!" At this point the instruments started up with a loud and shrill kind of music. "Eat your fill! Swaha!" The invisible guests were called upon to sit down and to enjoy the food and the drinks. Then there followed a eulogy of those invited; their power and their work were praised. It was assumed that the gods took to themselves the essence of the food and of the drinks. Further prayers asking for blessing and prosperity were pronounced. A lama brought fresh sacrificial cakes, the tsogs cakes (tsogs, meaning, "for all"); amid renewed loud music a priest threw several of the tsogs cakes up in the air as an offering to all the demigods and the demons who were not expressly invited or who were not invited by name. This was done so that their favor would not be lost inadvertently. Then each of the participating lamas, one after the other, depending on his individual status and dignity, received a tsogs cake. They ate the cake, but each lama had to leave one piece of his cake; these pieces were then collected on one plate. An entire cake was then placed on top of piled-up pieces, and these remnants were flung on the ground before the door

527 of the temple by one of the priests with an expression of contempt for
782 those demons who had not yet surrendered to the "converters" of Tibet and to the great Buddha. This was the Lhagdor sacrifice (lhag-ador), the "cast offering of the remnants," by which these despised yet dreaded demons are appeased. With this act the banquet of the gods was concluded. There followed another plentiful meal for the officiating lamas, each of whom received a gift of money from the participating farmers, besides.

000 Namgyal then paid a visit to the house of his father-in-law Norbu Wangchung. There things were very merry. The Chirpon celebrated the harvest festival with some members of his tribe and a few neighbors in his fashion, with a great deal of beer and noisy revelry. Namgyal did not stay there long although the old man would have liked to keep him there longer. Namgyal never felt at ease in that house. He gave regards to her parents from his wife Chosskyid, sat for a little while among the carousing men, and then he took his leave. He was able to say with good reason that he was being awaited in Kalatse, for there they were also celebrating the harvest festival, though they kept it in moderate /152/ bounds, and all the farmers of the village were supposed to be gathered there, even those who had "regaled the gods" in Tingmogang.

Namgyal again returned to Kalatse with peculiar feelings. As a good Buddhist he believed to have performed his obligation, and he had followed the ceremonies in the monastery of Tingmogang with careful attention. He wanted to be sure to have done everything to obtain the favor of the great Unknown Ones in the dark Beyond, and to find peace for his soul. And now it happened again that he set out on his way home with a feeling of emptiness and gnawing doubts in his heart With it possible, then, that those Mighty Ones in the Beyond, and that the great Gautama could be pleased by the goings-on in the monastery, and that they should be induced to help by such means? Where was the way that would lead him out of the labyrinth of these questions, out of the darkness of doubts into the bright light of understanding which as a Buddhist he was supposed to seek.

On a Business Trip.

437 In the year after the house had been built, when the fields had been tended and when the young grain began to sprout in the fields, it was decided to undertake a business trip. This plan was agreed upon

6; Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

loose red trowsers, the ends of which are tucked into the boots, and a shawl over their shoulders; they go bare-headed, and wear their hair in a number of small plaits which hang down the back. On the top of their heads the married women wear a *pirák* or silver ornament from which depend strings of beads on both sides of their faces, and long tails of leather studded with coarse turquoises. The girls wear only a single turquoise threaded on the hair near the parting: this, like the snood in Scotland, is a sign of their being unmarried. In winter both sexes wear great-coats made of sheep skin with the wool on. In Láhaul the dress of the men is much the same as that worn in Kúlu, the only difference being that the coat is longer and of thicker and darker cloth, and that trowsers are always worn; the women, on the other hand, dress like those of Spiti, except that straw sandals replace the long boots. It is not easy at first to distinguish a Láhauli nun, if young, from a lad, as they shave their heads and dress like men.

Horse-racing and shooting with the long bow are amusements common to both Láhaul and Spiti, and are practised at meetings held at particular seasons. Prizes are given at the races, and the rider of the last horse is subjected to a good deal of ridicule and practical jocking. The target at an archery meeting consists generally of a pillar of snow with a leaf for a bull's eye. The archers excite themselves by treating the pillar as an effigy of some traditional tyrant, and cry out "let the Rana of Ghúsa have it in the goitre" or "give the Kárdang *saplang*, one in the eye." Stakes of cash or grain are shot for.* Both Spiti men and Láhaulis have almost always got dice about them, with which they amuse themselves by gambling at odd moments. Evening parties are common enough, at which much *cháng* or beer is drunk, and men and women dance a kind of quadrille or country dance together in a very brisk and lively fashion to the music of fingeolets and tambourines played by the *Bedas*.

In Láhaul as in Kúlu generally only one family lives in one house. The average number of souls is 5·7 per house and 5·5 per family. In Sára, that is the valley of the Bhága, it is common for several brothers to live together; but separation is becoming more common. In Pattan, where Hindúism prevails, division is the rule of the Spiti family. Mr. Anderson writes as follows:—

"The number of souls per house is only 3·6, and per family 3·3. This is the result of the peculiar custom prevailing in Spiti by which the eldest son on his marriage ousts his father from the 'big house' and is himself ousted in return. Primogeniture prevails in Spiti; and the eldest son in the father's lifetime succeeds to the ancestral property, and becomes responsible for the revenue and other burdens incidental to its possession. The younger brothers go to the ancestral cell in the *gompa* (or monastery), where they are entitled to maintenance. Should a *lámá's* (or monk's) elder brother die without issue, he may resign the priesthood and take possession of the ancestral house. The eldest son has to give up to his father two or three fields by way of maintenance. I was told that it was considered no hardship for the father thus to resign in his son's favour. This custom has given rise to the following names":—

* Formerly the bow was the weapon both of war and of the chase in these countries. Mr. Lyall remembers meeting in Spiti a man from Great Tibet who carried a very well made and powerful sling as a weapon of defence.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

423 Chapter III, D. — Village Communities and Tenures. [51]

427 Rights of the Thakurs and subordinate landholders of all kinds in *jágír kothás* in Láhaul.

or forced labour for the State, and of certain periodical services to the Thákur; an average *jeola* contains about 15 *lákh*, or 5 acres. A *dotoen's* holding is on an average equal in extent to from one to two *jeolas*; a *cháksi's* holding varies between a half and a whole *jeolá*, a *káng chumpá* generally holds only about a quarter *jeola* or less. There are some other small miscellaneous rent-free holdings, the revenue of which must be considered to have been remitted, not in lieu of service to the Thákur, but for the good of the whole community. For example, a few fields known as *garzing* are generally held rent-free by a family of blacksmiths or *lohárs* not so much in lieu of service, for they are paid for their work separately, as to help them to a livelihood, and induce them to settle down. In the same way the *hensís* or musicians hold a little land rent-free under the name of *bezing*; the *jodsis* or astrologers under the name of *onpozing*, and the *béds* or physicians under the name of *manzing*. Astrologers and physicians are, however, men of the regular landholding class, who have also separate *jeolas* or holdings of revenue-paying land. The *lohárs* and *hensís* are low class people, who hold no land, except a few fields given them rent-free. The *garhpán* land, no doubt, belongs solely to the Thákur, who is also landlord or superior prorpietor of the whole *kothí*. "The *yulfa* or villagers," writes Mr. Lyall, "I hold to to be subordinate proprietors of their holdings; so are the *dotoens*. At first was I inclined to think that the *cháksis* and *káng chumpás* were mere tenants in the *garhpán* or private lands of the Thákurs, but on further enquiry their title did not seem to be essentially weaker than that of any other class. They are never evicted, and the custom with regard to inheritance and power of mortgage, with regard to their holdings, and those of the regular landholders, appears to be precisely the same. I consider them therefore to be also subordinate proprietors of their holdings, differing only from the *yulfas* inasmuch as they pay no rent, and do private service only to the Thákur; whereas the latter pay rent and do public service for the State (*begár*), as well as occasional private service to the Thákur. I do not think that the *lohárs*, the *jodhsis* or the *béds*, could now be evicted from the fields they hold rent-free under name of smiths, astrologers, and physicians' land. Probably they could have been evicted by a vote of the community or order of the Thákur in former times, but the general idea now seems to be that they could hardly be evicted, however inefficient. The *hensís*, however, seem to be considered to hold at the pleasure of the Thákur." In some places a field or two are found held rent-free by a *gonpa* or Buddhist monastery, and cultivated not by any one family, but by the neighbouring landholders in unison. This land is considered to be the property of the monastery. So also patches of land under the name of *lházing* or god land, cultivated by the man who acts for the time being as *pujárí* or priest of some petty local divinity, are considered the property of the shrine, if there is any, and not of the cultivator, who only holds till he vacates the office of priest, which is not hereditary. *Yurzing* is the term applied to small fields found in many villages, the grain of which is devoted to a feast held by the men who repair a canal. It should be considered the common property of all shareholders in the canal. There are

[425] [492] [527]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter III, D. 423

Village Communities and Tenures. 778

Fields excluded from regular household allotment. [427] [425]

423

land attached to the village *Lhakang* or temple. They should be considered to be the common property of the village. One of the landholders or other residents cultivates them, and pays a fixed rent which is applied to lighting the temple with lamps, or to the expenses of occasional feasts. Such a tenant can be evicted by a vote of community; sometimes all the landholders unite to cultivate these fields, and the whole produce goes to the temple expenses. Some of these temples are served by a *lámá* nominated by the *zamíndárs*, others by the *zamíndárs* themselves. In many villages there are fields known as *yurzing*, or canal land, the produce of which, as in Láhaul, is devoted to a feast at the time of annual canal repairs; these also should be considered the common property of the community. In all villages there are some persons known as *yulfa*, that is, village *dotuls*, who own a house and small field attached which they have reclaimed from the waste with the consent of the village community; some few have no field; but all pay a small fee towards the revenue of the village by way of hearth-tax. They could not be evicted, as the land was given them to induce them to settle permanently in the village, and on that understanding they have built their house and broken up the waste.

[527] [651]

Begár or forced labour in Spiti. 651 [491]

The custom with regard to *begár* is much the same as in Láhaul. Ordinary repairs of roads from village to village have been hitherto performed by the *tulfa káng-chimpas*, or regular landholders only; the *káng-chungpás*, *yáng chungpás*, and *dotuls*, have only been called upon to assist on occasion of extraordinary repairs. Mr. Lyall recommended, however, that in future each house, and not each holding, should furnish a man for repairs of roads, as is now the practice in Láhaul. For the duty of carrying letters or travellers' baggage across the passes the regular landholders alone are liable, and a roster or roll of turn of duty is kept up as in Láhaul. A landholder often gets a *dotul* or other dependant to go in his stead, but the latter is at perfect liberty to refuse, and will not go unless handsomely paid.* So, again, the landholders are primarily liable for all carriage of loads from village to village; but when the number of loads is very great, all classes are impressed. In order to have a store in hand from which to meet the demands of travellers for supplies, about a *lákh* of grain is collected from each regular landholders at the commencement of the season; any extra expenses on this or any other common account are met by a rate levied on all regular holdings in Spiti. The rate is uniform, and does not vary with the rates of revenue for different villages. At the end of the season, when all the passes have closed, a meeting is held at Dankar, called the *Talsichemno*, or great tax audit, at which the accounts of collections,

[465]

* As an instance of the price paid to a substitute may be given that fixed for the journey from Kibbar, in Spiti, over the Párangla pass, to Rápshu in Ladákh, viz., three rupees cash, two *khal* or about 50lbs barley meal, a large pot of butter, five or six ounces of tea, a pair of boots, the loan of sheep to carry the porter's clothes, food, &c.

7: Francke M-5 (no date) 1904 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Dard AV3

The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyasi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *sha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchód rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

made of creamy milk; it then has a delicious fruity flavour with a slight suggestion of wine. By early morning the *zho* in the large pot will have set, and the house-mother must rise early to churn it. She has a long instrument with leather fans on the end, which must be kept twirling in the pot, and it is a matter of some skill both to keep the curdled milk at the right temperature by adding hot or cold water, and to twist the churn at the correct rate. An experienced housewife eventually separates out a fine cone of yellow butter, while in the pot the sour buttermilk is left, the remainder of which, after having retained enough for the household's needs, is taken to the bazar to be sold. It is used for various kinds of food. Vegetables, which we would consider weeds, are collected from garden and field, washed, boiled, washed again, then kneaded, fried with onions and added to the *darra* or buttermilk. This mixture is used as a sauce with *zan* or *baba*, which is made by boiling the milled flour of roast wheat, barley and peas into a mash. The peas are like our English ones, but harder and more flavourless. The milk curds when set are also hung up in a bag, and after all the whey has dripped out and the curd dried, it is well pressed and cut into strips,—perhaps fried in butter and used in soup. From Yarkand come dried curds of horses' milk, which is also used for this purpose. Other changes in diet are afforded by mixing barley-flour into paste with a little *chang* or native beer, and allowing it to ferment. This is then dipped into and eaten with more *chang*. Another delicacy is made by mixing good butter, sugar and, perhaps, currants into a paste and eating it with chupattis like jam.

At the New Year a special dish is provided by making a round flat barley-cake, and pouring a little butter into a hole in the middle.

All this use of flour, whether of wheat or barley, presupposes the long processes of cleaning the grain, shaking it up and down on a *shupu* (a kind of straw tray), so that the loose husks blow away, and the little stones and odd bits which get

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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535

585
535

A BIRTHDAY ENTERTAINMENT.

Women dancing at an entertainment in Leh. The gesture indicates the plucking of a flower.

MEN DANCERS AT A WEDDING.

Resting between their performances. At the extreme left of the front row is the bridegroom, while the gentlemen in the upper row to the left with peculiar turnover hats are his uncles.

[FACING P 184]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

selected for either their youth or beauty. Other dances, such as the " pigeon " dance occur, in which both sexes join, though without touching each other as in the West, and the " shoulder " dance of women only, in which movement of the shoulder are prominent. In the *shondros*, also a woman's dance, the partners face each other, then wheel round till they come back to back, afterwards slowly reversing again till they face once more. At the end of the horse-racing in the New Year, a dance occurs in the middle of the bazar in which the women stand in a circle, and the men dance round them in pursuance of an old custom connected with royalty. A dance for both sexes, called the " peacock dance," has its song about that bird. Otherwise the Ladaki dancing differs from that of Tibet, which is said to be always accompanied by singing.

It has now become practically an annual event for the Wazir to have a display in honour of the British Joint Commissioner, at which other dances and plays are seen, and the stage properties of Leh obtain their yearly airing. To this *ltadmo* any Europeans who happen to be in Leh at the time are hospitably invited. The programme usually begins in the afternoon between two and three o'clock, when it is opened with some sort of prayer for His Imperial Majesty and H.H. the Maharajah of Kashmir. The former may take the form of " God Save the King " sung by the Boys' School in English with their own peculiar accent. The boys of the State School then act a little play, more or less in costume, and always with a very powerfully pointed moral; and, of late, a demonstration of Boy Scouts of both State and Mission Schools has become a feature of the programme. This may be followed by a lama dance in devil-masks, and tea is usually served between four and five p.m. For this the *élite* withdraw from the covered balcony, from which they have been watching the performance, to tents or a simple pagoda in the Wazir's pleasant garden behind. The Europeans have one tent, the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

527 536 King and a *Skushog*, if present, and one or two Leh Buddhists of high rank, another, Hindu and Mussulman officials have their separate resorts, and any other slightly less prominent townsmen or traders have their own places. The Europeans are provided with an English tea, for which, with good luck, the butter in the cakes is not too strong. After this refreshment they may adjourn to the adjoining polo ground to watch a match there.

The hours from six to eight are usually labelled "rest" on the programme, and we return from our homes to dine in the Wazir's house at eight. The number of Sahibs in Leh entertained thus lavishly, once reached seventeen, and the record number of courses at such a dinner was fifteen, but, on this occasion we were also celebrating the birth of a son to the Wazir, while the previous year, during the Great War, we had met to commemorate the British conquest of German West Africa. At one of these feasts our host was a Mussulman, who partook with us; so also a small son of his endeavoured to do, but there were many courses, and the day had already been so long and exciting, that the little fellow could not manage to keep awake. He would sit up for one or two courses, then, having fallen asleep, be removed to return after one or two more, and so food and sleep alternated with him throughout the meal. The elaborate menu of these meals is usually presided over by a Ladaki quite expert in Western cooking. After a short smoke we all return to the covered balcony, to find a large bonfire kindled on the open space in front of us, on which kerosene oil, so costly by the time it reaches Leh, is recklessly thrown at intervals, or when a special flare of illumination is required. The weird performances we are going to see are rendered far more effective by its flickering light, which also plays on the quaint brown faces of the spectators, packed closely together on the other three sides of the square, some sitting on the ground in front, others standing behind, women in blue turquoised *perags* and black

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

earflaps, men and children in their turned-up caps, dotted about with Mussulmans in turbans, old and young all eager and expectant, for they love a *ltadmo*.

One of our annual friends opens the programme, a man on stilts concealed by long draperies, not very realistic, but a source of great delight to the child-like audience. He is followed by two large birds, with long necks (held up by an arm of the masquerader within) and vulture-like heads and beaks, the bodies covered with sheepskins. These extraordinary animals, programmed as "chicken," hop about, peck at each other, clean their feathers, and attend to their personal *shikar*, each action provoking a fresh outburst of amusement from the crowd.

~~Next~~ comes a lion dance, in which two men are covered with a large skin, from which their human booted legs protrude as fore and hind legs in the most unabashed fashion. The face consists of a mask, and its attendants introduce it with antics of their own. The unwieldly lion makes grotesque leaps and bounds, and finally climbs up on to a table. The play was brought to Leh from Chinese Turkestan, where several tables are piled up high, and our nimble lion reaches the topmost. In Leh, however, a far more serious *dénouement* is achieved, for, with a series of rolls and contortions, a baby lion is born, to the unbounded delight of the audience, and suddenly appears on the table with its mother (the cub being a child also dressed in a skin). Waddell says that the play of this acrobatic lion was primarily derived from China, and has its origin in the "mythical lion of the Himalayan snows, which is believed to confer fortune on the country where it resides. One of these lions was enticed to China by a wizard, and the crops and cattle prospered as long as it lived, and when it died the Chinese stripped off its skin with which they conduct this dance."

Next comes a dragon dance, also originating from China, where the dragon is deified. It is supposed to follow after a

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

sea. The boat is cleverly made with a framework of wood and paper from which a cloth valance depends. In the middle a small curtained canopy is erected, through which the lady's head can be dimly discerned, but her manly legs can be seen beneath as her impersonator works the boat, walking sideways here and there, and making the light craft rock and sway and gyrate violently as though in a heavy sea. An attendant guide or guardian and a boatman with an oar both accompany the lady, but outside the boat, so that the manipulations of the external oar add to the ludicrous effect produced, which in the bonfire light is grotesquely realistic and extraordinarily funny. As the boat approaches the Amban, the boatman makes a grave error in his nautical activities, and the boat with its precious occupant totters dizzily down to stillness. However it is not sunk to the depths of the ocean, for, after the Amban has manifested his anger and the boatman received a beating, the gay craft rises and once more rocks and sways, and, encountering boisterous seas, again vanishes into the distance, leaving the European element of the audience at least struggling between laughter and memories of *mal-de-mer*.

This little drama and that of the lion and dragon were brought to Leh by traders and servants of sahibs who travelled to Yarkand. "The Amban and the Boat" so impressed one of the latter when he saw it at Kashgar, that he introduced it into Leh for the first time as a fit entertainment for the wedding festivities of a friend, who, we hope, did not have to send for his bride across such perilous seas.

Number 23. Male and female sex organs (request for the blessing of offspring). 531 842 831

" 24. Spindles or form of the yoni (requests for the blessing of offspring).

" 25. A little kid goat in the back part of the big goat's body (request for the blessing of offspring).

" 26. Spindle or yoni.

" 27, 31, and 35. Sun symbols. 821 531

" 36. Moon symbol.

" 28, 29, and 30. Games at religious festivals (harvest festival). 28 and 29, standing on the horse; 30, a fabulous animal, is represented by throwing a blanket over several people. 531 527 796

/71/ Numbers 32, 33, 34, and 37. Forms of the swastika. 32, 33, and 37 are forms in the official Bon religion. 34 is the form in Buddhism, as well as that in the mythology of the saga world. 771 531 773

Numbers 38 and 39. Hands (symbols of Wednesday?). 531 805 821

Origin of the Rock Drawings [1]

Table I: All from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse. 531

Table II: Numbers 6 and 10 from the banks of the Indus River near Khalatse; Numbers 7 and 11 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 8 from sBa-lu-mkhar; number 9 from A-ci-na-than; number 12 from Khalatse; number 15 from Kesar's Saddle near Khalatse; and numbers 14 and 16 from mDa.

Table III: Number 17 from sNye-tse in Zans-dkar, numbers 18 and 19 from the /?/ yed mountain pass in Zans-dkar; number 20 from Hu-nu-pa-ta; number 21 from mDo-mkhar; numbers 22, 23, and 25 from aBru-gui-dabs-khor. Number 24 from Khyun-ran-byon;

1 [See pp. 93-99, Category 116 -- Analysis]

16: Asboe
● 527

AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Lahul

[Secular aspects of Lahul ceremonials and festivals are so intimately fused with their religious aspects that no effort was made to isolate them. All descriptions of such activities have been included in category 796.]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

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(*c*) On a spring day [there are] three colds and three warmths
In a lifetime [there are] three happy [hours] and three unfortunate [hours].

(*d*) Misery and happiness are well balanced in man's life.

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(*e*) *Spid nyin* is a *Compositum determinativum* formed from *spidka* and *nyima*. Also *drangsum*, *drosum*, etc., must be considered as *Composita*, which accounts for the missing articles; the termination *la* to be pronounced *a*.

539 2. (*a*) སྐྱིད་སྡུག་མི་ལ། མཛེར་པ་ཤིང་ལ།

(*b*) skyid'dug mi'la, dzer'pa shing'la.

(*c*) Fortune [comes] to man, [as] a knot to the tree.

(*d*) No man knows the cause of a knot in a tree, just so unexpectedly misery and fortune come to certain people.

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(*e*) *Skyiddug* is *Comp. copulativum*.

539 3. (*a*) ཐིགས་པ་བསྣག་ན་རྒྱ་མཚོ་གང་།

(*b*) thigs'pa sag'na gya'thso gang'.

(*c*) If drops gather, [there is] a full ocean.

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(*d*) *Gang*, though of verbal derivation, is often used without an article to express the adjective "full."

539 4. (*a*) མཉའ་སྨོད་ནག་རང་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ་།
སྲེལ་མདོར་མོ་ཆེ་དང་གཡག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

(*b*) Ma'shroi nag'rang dang lug'khog zam'
slel dos'moche dang yag'khog zam'.

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(*c*) With [at the time of] the *nagrang* festival at Mashro [the heat] is as great as the body of a sheep.
With the *dosmoche* festival at Leh it is like the body of a Yak.

(*d*) From the peasant's calendar. Because the festival at Leh is celebrated several weeks after that in Mashro, it is warmer then.

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(*e*) *Maspro* = great joy. Though in this proverb the original pronunciation of Leh = *slel* is retained, in ordinary speech *s* and *l* are dropped; final *l* shows a great inclination to disappear. Sheh, a village on the Indus, was originally spelt *shel*—crystal, because crystals are found in the surrounding hills. *Gyapo* is said instead of *gyalpo*, etc. *Slel* is supposed to have been

[135]

22: Francke M-3 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

539 [643] [301] 527● [789]

corrupted from *lal*, ruby, it having been the ruby in the crown of the old Ladakhi kings. *Dosmoche* and *nàgrang* are both non-buddhist festivals. Although the *klu's* or water-snakes have nothing to do with them, they are Bon festivals, but attended by many buddhist priests and laymen. All evil spirits of the winter are driven into a cake, which is burnt outside the village. In Leh the fetish is formed of *mdosmo's*, see Jäschke's dictionary. In Mashro it is a black one. According to a different derivation this festival is called 'the black one' on account of the black coat of *Langdarma's* murderer whose deed is praised then.

5. (*a*) དཔལ་ཐུག་གི་དགུ་གཏོར་དང་ལུག་ཁོག་ཟམ།

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(*b*) spithŭggi rgu'stor dang lug' khog zam'.

(*c*) At the time of the *rgustor* festival at *Spithug* [the heat] is like a sheep. 527

(*d*) Often said instead of the former.

(*e*) The name of the village Spithŭg is said to have been formerly *dpethug*, 'the arrived at likeness." The monastery of Spithŭg was built after the picture of a famous monastery in Lhassa. *Rgustor* is a *Comp. determ.* composed of *nyergu* = 29 and *storma*, offering. The devils are urged to enter a large cake, offered to them and the cake is burned outside the village. 29 is the date of the festival. [346 789

6. (*a*) ས་ལ་སྐྱ་རེ་སྔོ་རེ། མི་ལ་སྐྱིད་རེ་སྡུག་རེ།

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(*b*) sa'la skya're sngo're mi'la skyid're, dŭg're.

(*c*) On the ground [it is] alternately grey and green, with man [there is] one turn fortunate, one turn unfortunate.

(*d*) See 1 (*d*).

(*e*) In Ladakhi a single *re* has often the meaning of some, for instance *lorela*, in some years. Here *re* forms *Composita* with *skyabo*, *sngonpo*, etc. 000

7. (*a*) ཁ་ལ་སྐྱང་དུ་འཁོར་དུས།
ཅི་གོབ་འབྲད་དེ་ཅི་ཟ་ཡོ་དུས།།

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(*b*) kha' ran'gu khor'dus, ci' gonbud'de, ci' zä dus'.